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HISTORY
ROUTE 2
HIGHER LEVEL AND STANDARD LEVEL
PAPER 1 – COMMUNISM IN CRISIS 1976–89

Friday 8 November 2013 (afternoon)

1 hour

INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES

- Do not open this examination paper until instructed to do so.
- Answer all the questions.
- The maximum mark for this examination paper is *[25 marks]*.

Read all the sources carefully and answer all the questions that follow.

Sources in this paper have been edited: word additions or explanations are shown in square brackets []; substantive deletions of text are indicated by ellipses ... ; minor changes are not indicated.

These sources and questions relate to Czechoslovakia's Velvet Revolution of 1989.

SOURCE A *Extract from **The Fall of Communism in Czechoslovakia** by Ján Čarnogurský, 2006. Ján Čarnogurský was prime minister of the Slovak Republic.*

Naturally, only a minority in a society puts up resistance against an authoritarian regime. However, this minority can motivate more and more people to take part in the individual events that are part of the process of undermining a dictatorship. In Czechoslovakia during the 1980s the number of people willing to sign a petition, make a proclamation or protest against a trial was increasing, as was the number of people willing to join a demonstration. The responsibility of the active minority lies in not driving people into protests against the regime that would put them at too great a risk. If resistance leaders assess the social situation in their country incorrectly, and take protests further than the level supported by at least a significantly large group of people, they usually end in failure and such a failure tends to strengthen the existing dictatorship.

Between 1988 and 1989 a group of lawyers in Czechoslovakia drafted a Czechoslovak constitution to be applied after the fall of Communism. It was a constitution that met all the standard requirements of democratic states. However, the future constitution project did not reflect the real political pressures that arose shortly after the collapse of Communism in Czechoslovakia.

SOURCE B *Extract from “New Year’s address to the nation” by Vaclav Havel, published on the Czech Republican Presidential website, 1 January 1990. Vaclav Havel was president of Czechoslovakia in 1990.*

Three days ago I became the president of the Republic as a consequence of your will, expressed through the Federal Assembly. You have a right to expect me to mention the tasks I see before me.

First is to use all my power to ensure that we step up to the ballot boxes in a free election, and that our path toward this historic event is dignified and peaceful.

My second task is to guarantee that we approach these elections as two self-governing nations who respect each other’s interests, national identity, religious traditions and symbols and to see that the interests of the Slovak nation are respected and that no office, including the highest, is closed to it in future.

My third task is to support everything that will lead to better circumstances for our children, the elderly, women, the sick, the hardworking labourers, the national minorities and all citizens who are, for any reason, worse off than others.

SOURCE C *Extract from 1989 as a Return to Europe: On Revolution, Reform, and Reconciliation with a Traumatic Past by Dragoş Petrescu, 2008. Dragoş Petrescu is a faculty member of the Department of Political Science, University of Bucharest.*

Two major elements have to be taken into consideration when providing an in-depth analysis of the 1989 revolutions: (1) violence should not be considered a necessary element of revolution; and (2) mass protest should be regarded as an important precondition of a revolution.

A combination of circumstances played a role in the unfolding of events in 1989. International media and Radio Free Europe contributed heavily to the collapse of Communist regimes in East–Central Europe. Nevertheless there were external factors that had a strong influence on the collapse of Communism in Europe. Some authors mention the 1978 election of a Polish Pope, others emphasize the role of American President Ronald Reagan and his determination to establish a weapons system that weakened the Soviet Union economically and militarily, as factors leading to the breakdown of Communist regimes in East-Central Europe. All these assertions are true, and have to be seriously considered. However, two external factors were of major importance in the collapse of Communism in East–Central Europe: (1) the Gorbachev factor; and (2) the “snowball effect”.

A detailed analysis of what ordinary people in East-Central Europe wanted when they poured into the streets and asked for a regime change would go beyond the scope of this paper, yet many people simply wanted to live better and it was clear that the communist regimes were not able to provide for their populations in this respect.

SOURCE D *Extract from Candle Demonstration – March 25 1988, written on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the demonstration, by The Ladislav Hanus Fellowship. Founded in 2002, the Fellowship is a non-governmental educational organization seeking to form strong Christian leaders.*

Around 2000 people attended the half-hour demonstration in Hviezdoslav Square, Bratislava; thousands were in adjacent streets. No speeches were made during the demonstration – the people expressed resistance with burning candles and prayers. The state police reacted with violence – they used clubs and water cannons against the demonstrators. Tens of people, including those who were there by chance, were arrested and cross-examined for hours.

The main organizers were detained the entire day to prevent them from joining the meeting.

The aggression against the quiet prayer demonstration met with critical reactions in the democratic world. News of the Bratislava event was broadcast by the BBC [British Broadcasting Corporation], Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and Vatican Radio.

Used with the permission of the Ladislav Hanus Fellowship.

SOURCE E

Source E removed for copyright reasons

1. (a) What does Source A suggest about the political position in Czechoslovakia prior to the Velvet Revolution of 1989? *[3 marks]*
(b) Question removed for copyright reasons *[2 marks]*

 2. Compare and contrast the views expressed in Sources C and D about events leading to the collapse of Communism in Czechoslovakia in 1989. *[6 marks]*

 3. With reference to their origin and purpose, assess the value and limitations of Source B and Source C for historians studying the collapse of Communism in Czechoslovakia in 1989. *[6 marks]*

 4. Using the sources and your own knowledge, explain the extent to which those involved in the build-up to the Velvet Revolution would regard the revolution as successful. *[8 marks]*
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